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THE MOSHE DAYAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFRICAN STUDIES SEEKS TO CONTRIBUTE BY RESEARCH, DOCUMENTATION, AND PUBLICATION TO THE STUDY AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE MODERN HISTORY AND CURRENT AFFAIRS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA. THE CENTER IS PART OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE LESTER AND SALLY ENTIN FACULTY OF HUMANITIES OF TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY. THE CENTER IS GOVERNED BY A BOARD OF GOVERNORS, ACTING ON THE ADVICE OF AN INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF OVERSEERS. IT IS ADMINISTERED BY AN ACADEMIC DIRECTOR.

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REGIME, OPPOSITION AND PUBLIC OPINION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

On

April 15 the Moshe Dayan Center convened its annual symposium on the Middle East to discuss recent trends in the nexus between regime, opposition and public opinion.

Prof. **Shimon Shamir** of the Department of Middle Eastern and African History opened the first session with a discussion of the advantages and shortcomings of the prevalent explanations for the persistence of authoritarian governments in the Arab world. According to Shamir, there was a strong correlation between the degree of democracy in a society and the degree of human development and human dignity. He argued that the liberal Islamic trend was the only realistic alternative to authoritarian governments.



PROF. JOSEPH KOSTINER (left) AND PROF. SHIMON SHAMIR

Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner** discussed two major factors behind the staying power of states – the presence of a centralized central government and national cohesion or solidarity. He contrasted the basis for solidarity in the Arab world with the European model, and illuminated the way in which Arab states evince a solidarity that is based on fluid coalitions between various clans or factions in society.

Prof. **Yoram Meital** of Ben-Gurion University began the second session with a detailed analysis of the successes and failures of Egypt's opposition groups during the 2005 parliamentary elections, with particular attention to the Muslim Brotherhood's large gains. Meital also stressed the shift in the domestic political balance, the emergence of new movements, and new avenues of political expression.



NAHUM SHILOH

Graduate student **Nahum Shiloh** offered an insightful look at the model of the *majlis* and the *shura* council as means of political participation and political opposition in the tribal social order. Voting for these bodies has affected political participation and political opposition in the Gulf states. He distinguished between violent opposition in the Gulf, such as *al-Qa'ida*, and non-violent opposition, aimed at economic and social reform, and he devoted particular attention to the ways in which governments in the region cope with these forces of opposition.

Visiting Jordanian scholar Dr. **Wasfi Kailani** observed that the process of normalization between Jordan and Israel has stalled and the process of democratization in Jordan had reached a standstill. He contended that there was a connection between “cold peace” and “cold democracy,” and that both of these processes were brought to a standstill due to measures taken by Kings Husayn and Abdallah II to diminish the threat of the Islamist opposition.



Ephraim Lavie

Ephraim Lavie, Dayan Center Researcher and Director of the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, examined Palestinian national cohesion since the 1993 Oslo Accords. He noted that there was greater Palestinian national cohesion when the Oslo process dictated the order of the day, but that it unraveled during the second *intifada*, and then it was severed completely when Hamas initiated a civil war and ultimately established rule over the Gaza Strip.

The third session focused on the Fertile Crescent. Dayan Center Director Prof. **Eyal Zisser** noted that Syria did not face a serious domestic threat. According to Zisser, the existence of external threats to Syria have actually bolstered the ability of Bashar al-Asad’s regime to suppress the challenge of its domestic opposition.

Senior Fellow Prof. **Ofra Bengio** spoke about the growth of Iraqi Kurds as a nation within a failed nation-state. She demonstrated how the Kurds’ experience of self-rule, social, economic and cultural development, and the support they have received from the outside world has all contributed to the forging of a more cohesive and distinct Kurdish national identity.



Dr. Anat Lapidot-Firilla

Dr. **Anat Lapidot-Firilla** of the Hebrew University discussed the struggle between secularism and religion in the experience of the Kemalists in Turkey and drew comparisons with the present day Justice and Development Party (AKP). Even though the Kemalist movement adopted aggressively secular rhetoric, it was always forced to struggle against the “Trojan horse” that was religious tradition and religious identification. Her analysis demonstrated that while the lines between religion and nationalism in Turkey might not have been so clearly severed as had been previously thought, the two have still been preserved in their separate paths.



Dr. Wasfi Kailani



Prof. Ofra Bengio



DR. YEHUDIT RONEN

Senior Fellow Dr. **Yehudit Ronen** opened the fourth session with a talk on Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's war with the Muslim Brotherhood. The Libyan regime claims to be an Islamic one, so the fight with the Brotherhood is one over Islamic legitimacy. Both seek to lead the country, and both claim that the other is the "infidel."

Fellow Dr. **Daniel Zisenwine** spoke about the twenty years of Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's rule. The fact that in the last forty years only two men have ruled Tunisia testifies to the sturdiness of the regime, he explained. Ben Ali came to power in 1987 after a soft coup and promised to abolish the presidential life term instituted by his predecessor, Habib Bourguiba. Ben Ali then reversed that decision and appears unwilling to ever relinquish power. The official opposition groups in Tunisia are known for their allegiance to the president, who wins his elections with more than 90% of the vote.

Senior Fellow Emeritus Dr. **Gideon Gera** maintained that understanding the prevalent frameworks of identity in Algeria, and the two different directions that the Islamic framework of identity has taken, are critical to understanding the war. He explained the background and the root causes of the Algerian

civil war, and stressed that the militant Islamists failed in their goal to overthrow the Algerian government and institute an Islamic state. This was due to their internal divisions, the suppression of the state, and a loss of popular support for their revolt.

Senior Fellow Dr. **Bruce Maddy-Weitzman** explained how Morocco had managed to implement far-reaching political, democratic and legal reforms, extend political participation and even incorporate Islamist groups without shaking the foundations of the regime. He described how the government had strategically channeled the political action of the Berbers, and how it had neutralized the threat of the Islamic movement through both participation and a heavy hand.



DR. GIDEON GERA

The final session was devoted to Iran. Graduate student **Raz Zimmt** spoke on the victory of the conservatives in the elections to the *Majles* and for the presidency. His explanation pointed to a convergence of factors, including the role of the Guardian Council which vets candidates, the failure of the reformists to improve Iran's economy, and the way in which the conservatives repackaged their image to appeal to the voting population.



RAZ ZIMMT (left) AND DR. MEIR LITVAK

Senior Fellow Dr. **Meir Litvak** identified two major long-term challenges facing the Iranian regime. One is that Ayatollah Khamenei has the very complex task of governing the system of religious institutions, maintaining the strength of traditional Shiite legitimacy and subordinating both of them to his rule. The second long-term challenge comes from the leadership's need to cultivate and craft in its own image the future guardians of the revolution, a precarious undertaking because that creation could turn on its creator.

THE WEST AND THE ARABS: URIYA SHAVIT

THE Moshe Dayan Center marked its publication of Fellow Dr. **Uriya Shavit's** book, *The Wars of Democracy: The West and the Arabs from the Fall of Communism to the War in Iraq*, with a March 19 colloquium entitled "Islam and Democracy: Are the Two Compatible?" Co-chaired by Center Director Prof. **Eyal Zisser** and by Center Senior Fellow Prof. **Joseph Kostiner**, the colloquium was attended by more than 300 students and members of the public.

Shavit presented several of the book's main theses, offering an overview of Western and Arab perceptions on the future of democracy in Arab societies throughout the past 150 years, and explored how notions on the subject originating in one civilization affected the other. Former Defense Minister Prof. **Moshe Arens** offered his reflections on some of the ideas presented in the book.



THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL

"The Global and the Local: International Efforts to Resolve Local Conflicts" was a three-day conference held May 25-27 and jointly hosted by four Tel Aviv University institutions: the Moshe Dayan Center, the Institute for National Security Studies, the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, and the Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research. The colloquium addressed a diverse set of topics related to international conflict, and included engaging panels on topics such as the Cold War and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, peacekeeping operations, and conflict resolution efforts in post-Cold War Europe. The conference attracted an accomplished group of statesmen, scholars, and strategists from Israel, Europe and North America, many of whom submitted academic papers and participated in lively debates following the panel presentations. The highlight of the conference was a "diplomatic round table" that was covered by the Israeli media and featured former Israeli ambassadors Prof. **Shlomo Ben-Ami**, Senior Fellow Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, and Dr. **Zvi Stauber**, as well as Palestinian spokesperson **Saeb Erakat** and former US ambassador to Israel, Dr. **Daniel Kurtzer**.

Who's Up AND Who's Down: THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WEST

Is the West declining and will Islam take its place as the world's leading civilization? On June 26 the Moshe Dayan Center held a one-day conference: "The Decline of the West, the Rise of Islam? Studies in Literature on the Future of the Two Civilizations." The conference was coordinated by Dr. **Uriya Shavit** and **Idan Barir** of the Dayan Center.

In his opening remarks, Shavit noted that the first scholar to suggest a cyclical analysis of history, anticipating the eventual fall of any state, was 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, in the fourteenth century. Declinist literature prophesying the demise of the West as a globally hegemonic power proliferated throughout the twentieth century at different



DR. URIYA SHAVIT

historical junctures in Western and Arab writings. The failures of George W. Bush's administration have recently reignited the debate, in the West as well as in the Arab world. During the first session, which was devoted to Oswald Spengler and Samuel Huntington, Dr. **Pini Ifergen** of Hebrew University discussed Spengler's idea of the decline of civilizations, while Prof. **Arnon Gutfeld** of Tel Aviv University spoke on the concept of decline in contemporary American thought, drawing on Paul Kennedy and Samuel Huntington.



DR. MIRA TZOREFF



DR. SAGI POLKA

Shavit began

the second session – devoted to the decline of the West in Muslim-Arab thought – with an analysis of Sayyid Qutb and Zakr Na'iq, who wrote about the West after experiencing it. He was followed by Dr. **Uriya Forman** of Hebrew University, who discussed how Muslims view the future. Graduate student **Idan Barir** concluded the sessions with remarks on contemporary Muslim-Arab views of the Western family.

the West's "inevitable decline." **'Abd al-Wahhab Haba'ib** of Tel Aviv University examined Islam and the West in the thought of Rashid Rida. Center Researcher Dr. **Mira Tzoreff** discussed generational differences in Islamist thought on the West. Dr. **Sagi Polka** of Bar-Ilan University spoke on the way in which Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi views the West. The session was concluded with a presentation by **Liad Porat** of Haifa University on the Syrian Muslim Brother, 'Isam al-'Attar.

In the fourth session the speakers discussed the future of Western civilization in the scholarship of radical Arab regimes. Dr. **Efraim Barak** of Bar-Ilan University took a look at influential Egyptian editor Muhammad Husayn Haykal's move from Western Islamic culture, while Dr. **Mordechai Kedar**, also of Bar-Ilan, examined the thought of the Ba'th and neo-Ba'th in Syria. The Center's Senior Fellow Dr. **Yehudit Ronen** looked at how Libyan leader Muammar al-Qadhafi perceives the West.



DR. MORDECHAI KEDAR



June 4, Schocken Press and the Dayan Center hosted an evening to launch the Hebrew edition of ***Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis***, featuring the author, **Bat Ye'or**.



THE SIX-DAY WAR: ISRAELI, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES



Even though more than 41 years have passed since the outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967, there is still a heated debate regarding the causes for its outbreak, as well as over the motivations of the different parties involved in that crisis. On June 16, the Dayan Center scholars and associates gathered to discuss the war, and especially the crisis leading up to it.

The first panel dealt with the superpowers. Prof. **Eytan Gilboa** of Bar Ilan University described the attempt of the US to prevent the eruption of the war. According to Gilboa, President Lyndon Johnson was concerned that the conflict would evolve into a war between the superpowers. Paradoxically, the Israeli victory in that war strengthened the US position in the Middle East as the Soviet client-states were defeated handily. **Isabella Ginor** and **Gideon Remez** discussed their ground-breaking book, *Foxbats over Dimona: The Soviets Nuclear Gamble in the Six Day War*, where they argue that the Six-Day War was the result of a joint Soviet-Arab maneuver to provoke Israel into a preemptive attack, in order to destroy Israel's nuclear program before it could produce an atomic bomb. Tel Aviv University's Prof. **Yaacov Ro'i** described the USSR as the key player that set up the war, yet for a different reason. Ro'i argued that the Soviets had no intention to start a war, but they caused significant escalation by suggesting that Israel was going to attack Egypt and Syria. This, he argued, was not what they were hoping to achieve; rather, they had hoped that such information would facilitate the penetration of a variety of Soviet armed forces into the region and hence enhance their position. The last lecture only widened the debate. **Guy Laron** of the Hebrew University held the view that the USSR was hoping to stabilize the Middle East by maintaining the regional status quo.



Dr. Zaki Shalom



The second session focused on the Israeli part in the war. Dr. **Motti Golani** of Haifa University maintained that the Israeli attack in 1967 should partly be attributed to the results of the 1956 war. According to Golani, the fact that the 1956 war did not end with an acceptable political status quo; that Israel ended that war with the feeling that wars can be an easy task; and that the heroic chief of staff of that war, Dayan, entered the office of the Israeli Ministry of Defense on June 1, 1967, prepared the way for war. Dr. **Zaki Shalom** of the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) moved the discussion towards the way in which Israel was viewed by its enemies. He hypothesized that internal Ashkenazi-Sephardi discontent, and the departure of Levi Eshkol from the Ministry of Defense, might have led outside observers to believe that Israel was on the verge of civil war and therefore fragile. Dr. **Ami Gluska** (Hebrew University), on the other hand, put the emphasis on the conflict between the military and civilian echelons, with the former advocating pre-emptive war.

Dr. Ami Gluska

The final session discussed the Arab part in the war. Center Director Prof. **Eyal Zisser** covered the Syrian narrative of the war, which emphasized that while some maneuvers were carried by the Syrians prior to the war, they did not plan on launching a war. Rather, it was Israel that took advantage of the situation



DR. EPHRAIM KAM

and fulfilled its ultimate goal—to acquire the Golan Heights. Dr. **Ephraim Kam** (INSS) lecture concentrated on Jordan's role. He suggested that Jordan's participation was unavoidable since on 30 May, while visiting Egypt, King Husayn promised Gamal Abdel Nasser that Jordan would join Egypt. Prof. **Elie Podeh** of the Hebrew University examined why Nasser went to war. While discussing different approaches, Podeh explained that Nasser neither blundered into the war, nor did he make deliberate plans to provoke conflict. Instead, in early 1967, he took actions aimed at reaping political gains, which he knew carried a risk of escalation. Nasser's willingness to take such risks was also based on the assumption that Israel lacked the capacity for independent and effective military action. The conference was closed by Prof. **Shimon Shamir** of Tel Aviv University, who commented on the different lectures.



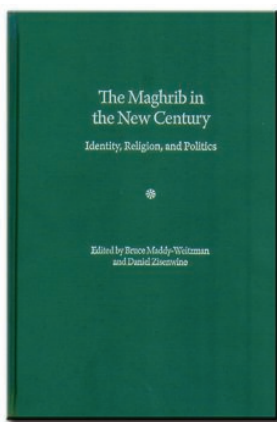
CENTER DIRECTOR Prof. Eyal Zisser

ALGERIA AND MOROCCO: FACING THE FUTURE



June 11 the Dayan Center organized an international workshop, "Algeria and Morocco: Facing the Future," with accompanying public lectures, to mark the publication of *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics*, published by the University Press of Florida and edited by Center Senior Fellow Dr.

Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Fellow Dr. **Daniel Zisewine**. The events were made possible by the Marcia Israel Foundation, which has taken an interest in the Center's ongoing work concerning North Africa.



Two leading scholars of modern North Africa, Prof. **Robert Mortimer** (Haverford College) and Prof. **Michael Willis** (Mohamed VI Fellow in Moroccan and Mediterranean Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford), led the day-long discussions, sharing their thoughts and ideas about current developments in Algeria and Morocco, along with a general assessment of the situation across North Africa. The region, which in the past was somewhat neglected within the realm of Middle East studies, has generated growing interest in recent years, and is increasingly identified as an area



DR. BRUCE MADDY-WEITZMAN



DR. DANIEL ZISSENWINE

experiencing profound political, economic, and cultural challenges affecting individual and national identities.

The workshop sessions focused on two themes. The first, entitled “The Contemporary Maghrib: Political and Economic Challenges” underscored the many positive developments within the political arena that have been evident in Algeria and Morocco. These countries have witnessed a considerable increase in political liberalization and an expansion of the boundaries of permissible debate. At the same time, they remain subject to a heavy authoritarian presence, along with other obstacles that block the possibility of establishing

more open political systems. The second theme of the discussions was “Identity, Culture, Emigration: The Demands of a New Generation.” Here the participants explored the challenges facing the Maghrib’s younger generation, which is increasingly disillusioned with what it perceives as political stagnation, along with worsening socio-economic conditions. These in turn have led many of them to seek answers in either radical political movements, including radical Islamism, or by abandoning the region altogether and seeking a new life abroad.

These themes were referred to by Profs. Mortimer and Willis in their evening public lectures. Seeking to analyze Algeria’s complex political system, Mortimer spoke on “Algeria after the Civil War: The Bouteflika Legacy.” He highlighted the political developments in Algeria since the rise to power in 1999 of its current president, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Bouteflika, and discussed the prospects for achieving stability in a country that for the past decade has experienced a great degree

of domestic turmoil. While noting that Bouteflika, a seasoned Algerian politician, has been successful in bringing a greater degree of political stability to the country, Algeria’s political future remains questionable. Indeed, much of Algeria’s ability to move beyond its current situation is linked to questions concerning Bouteflika’s political future and his willingness to step down from his position once completing a second term, as sanctioned by the Algerian constitution.



Prof. ROBERT MORTIMER

Prof. Willis, in a lecture entitled “Morocco: The Dilemmas of Reform,” described Morocco’s political reforms, which have intensified since its current king, Muhammad VI’s, accession to the throne in 1999. On the one hand, Morocco has experienced genuine political and social reforms. It has held several rounds of elections that were praised by international observers, and has initiated impressive reforms concerning the status of women and altering family laws. But while the kingdom has recorded many impressive achievements in these areas, Willis noted that many aspects of the political status quo remain entrenched. The Moroccan example indicates the heavy challenges North African governments and societies face at the onset of the 21st century.



Prof. MICHAEL WILLIS



TURKEY: CHALLENGES, PROSPECTS AND DYNAMICS



April 30 the Moshe Dayan Center's **Süleyman Demirel Program for Contemporary Turkish Studies** held its annual conference dedicated to the memory of Prof. **Aryeh Shmuelewitz**, a center founder and expert on Turkey and the Ottoman Empire. This year's topic was "Turkey: Challenges, Prospects and Dynamics."

HE Ambassador Namık Tan gave the opening remarks, and was followed the first speaker, Prof. **Hassan B. Kahraman** of Sabancı University, who spoke on immigrant Jews in the 1930's. Over 300 Jewish professors who found refuge in Turkey between 1933 and 1945 following the rise of Nazism in Germany made Turkey one of the best places in the world for different fields of science, incurring a debt from Turkey.

Next spoke Prof. **Ahmet Sözen** of the Cyprus Policy Center, who discussed what he determined was a paradigmatic shift in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP, which he termed neo-Ottomanism. He said that Ankara's neighbors may regard it



PROF. AHMET SÖZEN

as entailing imperialist aspirations or a grand Middle Eastern strategy. However, cautioned Sözen, the AKP was not the right party to take Turkey into the European Union, since its leaders' "DNA" was "not really compatible with western-type democracy and Europeanism."

with a multi-dimensional foreign policy and with zero problems with its neighbors.

Mehmet Ali Bayar, former Foreign Policy Advisor to the President of Turkey, addressed the issue of Turkish energy policy. First he dwelt on several important pillars of Turkish foreign policy: the supremacy of law; rationalism rather than adventurism; optimalism rather than maximalism; and diplomacy backed with resolve. Turkey's relations with Israel were one of the most important constants of Turkish foreign policy. These



PROF. HASAN B. KAHRAMAN

Prof. **Gün Kut** of Boğaziçi University dealt with Turkish foreign policy trends and developments since the 1990's. He explained that between 1991 and 2002 there were no less than 12 foreign ministers so that they could not really effect foreign policy making. Other power centers came to fill the vacuum, one of which was the foreign ministry, which was good at solving problems but not providing visionary planning. But in 2002 the AKP government came up with a new vision articulated by advisor Ahmet Davutoğlu. This new geopolitics has aspired to turn Turkey into a pivotal state in the region



PROF. GÜN KUT



MEHMET ALI BAYAR

relations stood to flourish further with a Ceyhan-Haifa energy corridor or the Ceyhan-Ashkelon multi-pipeline energy corridor. If brought to fruition, these projects might turn Turkey and Israel into pivotal countries for the transit of oil and gas to the Far East.

The last session was devoted to regional challenges to Turkish foreign policy. Dr. **Ersel Aydınli** of Bilkent University stressed that Turkey had followed a model based on Europeanization and modernization, as opposed to the Iranian model. While Turkey had an important role in transforming the Muslim world and in bringing to it viable democratization strategies, it needs the support of Israel, the US and Europe in order to succeed.

Dr. **Gülden Ayman** (Marmara University) concluded the day by addressing Turkey's position in the Iranian nuclear crisis. Ayman emphasized that Tehran believed that all the international actors that could put pressure on it were weak and could not develop a unified policy for stopping Iran. Yet Turkey has taken a balanced and cautious stance and refrained from defining Iranian



DR. GÜLDEN AYMAN



DR. ERSEL AYDINLI

nuclear activities as immediate threat to Turkish interests. At the same time, however, Ankara has pushed forward its army's modernization project in order to cope with any eventuality.



ISRAEL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

DAYAN SCHOLARS RECEIVE PRESTIGIOUS NATIONAL AWARDS

Drs. **Meir Litvak** and **Joshua Teitelbaum**, Senior Fellows at the Center, have been awarded research grants by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities' Israel Science Foundation (ISF). Litvak received NIS 56,000 a year over three years for his study, "Iranian Cities in Turbulent Times: Isfahan, Mashhad and Shiraz from Reza Shah to Mossadegh, 1921-1953." Teitelbaum was granted NIS 84,000 a year over three years for his research project, "Tribe, State and Jihad: The Saudi Arabian National Guard, National Identity and Collective Memory in Saudi Arabia."

Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation

ARAB YOUTH IN ISRAEL: CAUGHT BETWEEN PROSPECTS AND RISK



May 5, The Center's **Konrad Adenauer Program for Jewish-Arab Cooperation** held a conference focusing on prospects and risk factors affecting Arab youth.

Dr. **Lars Hansel**, director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Israel, said in his opening remarks: "One of the major challenges facing Israel on its 60th anniversary is its policy towards the state's Arab citizens. Arab youths of today are the political and cultural elite of tomorrow, and therefore should be granted special attention and care from the state's authorities." **Ghaleb Majadele**, Minister of Science, Culture and Sport, discussed the deteriorating economic situation of Arab youth in Israel. He emphasized that 54 percent of Arab children and teenagers lived below the poverty line and warned of the consequences arising from such a situation.

The first session of the conference dealt with trends of political and social change. Dr. **Khaled Abu Asbeh**, director of the Massar Institute for Research, Planning and Social Consulting, gave an overview on the social and political outlook of Arab youth in Israel.

Dr. **Khawla Abu Baker** of the Emek Yizrael Academic College spoke on the implications of the encounter of Arab students with Israeli society. She said that young Arab students, who begin their academic schooling in a Hebrew-language university, undergo a traumatic experience due to the tendency of the Jewish side to marginalize them. This results in the creation of a "cultural ghetto" which prevents their integration into Israeli society.



DR. LARS HANSEL

Dr. **Elie Rekhess**, director of the Adenauer Program, lectured on the national and political worldview of Arab youth in Israel. He alluded to three factors influencing Arab youths: political parties, such as the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the National Democratic Alliance; the Islamic movement; and other NGOs, such as the Baladna Association. Rekhess concluded that the mixture of political and national mobilization with social and economic distress may lead to an explosive situation, as was evident recently in the rise in numbers of stoning incidents by Arab youngsters, from 136 incidents in 2006 to 221 incidents in 2007.



MINISTER GHALEB MAJADELE

The next session focused on education, dropout and employment. Dr. **Ayman Agbaria** of the University of Haifa and Beit Berl College, lectured on dilemmas and challenges of civic education in Arab schools. He said that one of the major dilemmas was the absence of a clear definition of "joint citizenship." As a result, civic education in Arab schools focuses mainly on technical aspects of citizenship. **Beni Fefferman** of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor, presented various figures regarding employment of Arab youth in the labor market. In 2006, 21.6% of 15 to 18 years old Arab teenagers, compared to only 15.8% of their Jewish counterparts, were unemployed and out of educational system. 71.4% of Arab teenagers and 72.9% of Jewish teenagers were studying and unemployed,



Dr. Elie Rekhess

and 6.8% of Arab teenagers and 11.2% of Jewish teenagers were employed but were not studying. **Amira Karakra-Ibrahim** of the Massar Institute related to overt and covert dropout from the Arab educational system. She said that many of the dropouts came from dysfunctional families with problems such as chronic disease, crime, unemployment and violence. On the other hand, students who are defined as “covert dropouts” have adaptation problems, low schooling achievements, and behavioral problems. **Lee Perlman** of the Abraham Fund Initiatives lectured on the impact of Arab-Jewish youth encounters. He said that following the October 2000 events, Arab participants in these encounters adopted a more self-consciousness stance, examining the pros and cons of such initiatives. Perlman concluded that this trend

reflected a higher level of self-awareness of Arab society in general, as it tried to increase its share in the social and political discourse in Israeli society.

The third session discussed family and leisure time. **Paula Kahan-Strawczynski**, **Miriam Cohen-Navot**, and **Talal Dolev** of the Meyers-JDC-Brookdale Institute delivered presentations on various aspects of the issue, including family relations between Arab youth and their parents, leisure activities and informal education, and distress and challenges in the daily life of Arab youth.

The last session zeroed in on the phenomena of violence and juvenile delinquency. Dr. **Becky Leshem** of the Achva College and Hebrew University presented findings based on a field study conducted with Prof. **Muhammad Haj Yahya** of the Hebrew University, indicating that Arab youth are exposed to violence at a greater frequency than Jewish youth. Most of the violent incidents amongst Arab pupils, according to the study, take place within the residential neighborhoods, while with Jewish youth school is the major scene of violence. Dr. **Mona Khoury-Kassabri** of the Hebrew University, lectured on violence within Arab schools. Prof. **Faysal Azaiza** of the University of Haifa and Dr. **Khaled Abu Asbeh** presented findings of a field study on the use of psycho-active materials amongst Arab school students. According to the findings, 14% of Arab students used tobacco during the last year, 17% consumed alcoholic beverages and 12% used drugs.





Moshe Dayan Center Researchers' Forum is where the Center faculty hears and assesses the latest research of fellows, associates, visitors and graduate students.

THE ARAB LEAGUE'S PEACE INITIATIVE

Prof. **Ilai Alon** of TAU's Department of Philosophy presented a linguistic analysis of the 2002 Arab League Peace Initiative to the Forum on February 11. According to Alon, the initiative as presented in the Arab League's official document demonstrates that Arab leaders are sincere in their pursuit of a peace agreement with Israel. The language is far less harsh than earlier documents, the conflict is referred to a dispute and not a struggle, the solution to the Palestinian refugee issue is to be agreed upon. Moreover, the style of the document was novel and conciliatory, Alon concluded.



COMPETING NARRATIVES OF JERUSALEM, 1948

Visiting Jordanian scholar Dr. **Wasfi Kailani** discussed "tolerant and intolerant" narratives of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem in a presentation on March 3. His research compared four narratives (Christian, Jewish, Palestinian, and Jordanian) of the 1948 war in the Jewish Quarter. Kailani maintained that these histories did not present reality, but researching narratives was important for understanding contemporary Arab-Jewish mutual images, confrontations and their different mundane and holy boundaries in Jerusalem.



THE PALESTINE-ISRAEL BORDER

Prof. **Gideon Biger** of TAU's Department of Geography discussed the history of partitioning Palestine since 1937 in a presentation on May 5. Palestine was eventually partitioned by the war of 1948, but left a large Arab minority within the Jewish state. Palestine came entirely under Israeli rule in 1967. Biger proposed allocating areas where Arabs live in Israel to the Palestinian state which might emerge from a peace agreement.



THE THREE WARS OF IRAQ

The University of Michigan's Prof. **Juan Cole** spoke to the Forum on June 6 regarding the violence in Iraq. According to Cole, Iraq was seeing an intra-Shiite struggle in southern Iraq focused on oil revenues. In Baghdad, Sunnis and Shiites were struggling over control of the city's different neighborhoods, and in the north, there was an inter-ethnic struggle between Kurds and Arabs over control of the city of Kirkuk. Cole argued that each of these clashes revolved around political power and financial resources, whereas ideology played a minimal role. He also maintained that while the US invasion to Iraq removed the despotic centralized control of Saddam Husayn that had prevented these simmering conflicts from emerging, the US had had no impact on their final outcome.

JOSEPH STRELITZ MEMORIAL LECTURE

William ROGER LOUIS: THE MORAL COMPONENT OF THE 1947 PARTITION PLAN



March 12, Prof. **William Roger Louis**, Kerr Professor of English History and Culture at the University of Texas, delivered the **Joseph Strelitz**

Lecture on the UN plan to partition Palestine in 1947. Drawing on recent scholarship on the role played by politicians and diplomats from Canada and Australia as well as on his own research, Louis suggested a new interpretation for the circumstances that brought about the outcome of that vote. Rather than a cold political decision based on sheer interests, there was a significant, if not decisive, moral component to the decision. According to Louis some of the key non-Jewish figures involved in the 1947 vote believed not only in the United Nations as the hope of mankind but also in the ethical imperative to create a Jewish state after the Holocaust.

Louis also showed how Foreign Secretary Ernest

Bevin based his entire UN policy on miscalculated assumptions. Until the last moment the British predicted that the necessary two-thirds majority at the General Assembly would not be achieved and that their plan for a bi-national state with an Arab majority would prevail. This failed strategy was designed to secure British interests in the Arab world and thereby the longevity of the Empire.



Prof. William ROGER LOUIS

PROF. URIEL DANN MEMORIAL LECTURE

T.E. LAWRENCE AND THE ARAB REVOLT, 1916-1918

Prof. **Isaiah Friedman** of Ben-Gurion University delivered the annual **Prof. Uriel Dann Memorial Lecture** on April 7. His topic: T.E. Lawrence, a controversial figure that still arouses both scholarly and general interest.

According to Friedman, Lawrence had many detractors, including Malcolm Muggeridge and Richard Aldington, who attacked Lawrence as a charlatan and a liar. Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen admired Lawrence as “a master of irregular warfare,” but stressed that his Arab fighters were “a poor lot, splendid looters and with miserable courage.” It is safe to say, remarked Friedman, that Lawrence’s Desert Campaign had not the slightest effect on the main theatre of war. Although the capture of Aqaba in July 1917 was little short of sensational, it failed to become the rallying point for a movement of the Arabs on which the British pinned their hopes.

In fact, concluded Friedman, British officers such as Kitchener and Lawrence failed to appreciate the

attachment of the Arabs, and Muslims, to the Ottoman Empire. Disillusionment was therefore inevitable. Lawrence was heartbroken. He had finally realized that the idea of an Arab state as a Dominion within the British Empire was a fantasy; that the Arab union was, as he put it crudely, “a madman’s notion”; and that the way he had been fighting for the Arabs was not theirs.

Prior to the lecture, doctoral student **Amir Kulik** was awarded the **Prof. Uriel and Lora Dann Memorial Scholarship** for his research on Palestinian society and leadership in Haifa, 1818-1948.



Prof. ISAIAH FRIEDMAN

New Researchers at the Dayan Center

Always on the lookout for new talent, and thanks to the generosity of its supporters, the Dayan Center has recently added three new researchers to its ranks: Dr. **Irit Back**, Dr. **Uriya Shavit**, and Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**.



Irit Back received her PhD in Middle Eastern and African Studies from Tel Aviv University in 2000. Her fields of interest are conflict resolution and contemporary Islam in Africa. She published *Islam and Post-Colonial Identity in West Africa* in 2005 and many articles in scholarly journals. Her contemporary

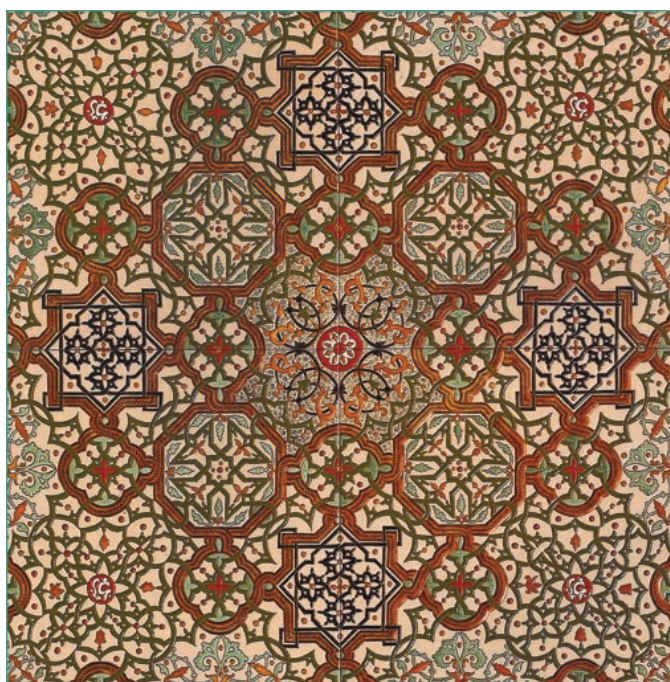
research focuses in the implications of the African Union intervention in the Darfur crisis. Her work at the Dayan Center will concentrate on civil wars in the 21st century.

Uriya Shavit received his PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from Tel Aviv University in 2006. He specializes in the study of democratic discourses in Arab societies and the study of Muslim minorities in the West. Shavit is the author, most recently, of *The Wars of Democracy: The West and the Arabs from the Fall of*



Communism to the War in Iraq. His forthcoming book, *Global Villagers: Imagining from Afar Nation States and the Nation of Islam*, deals with the impact of advanced media technologies on migrant communities. Shavit heads the Center's research project on Islam and the West.

Mira Tzoreff received her PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from Tel Aviv University in 2006. Her fields of interest are socio-cultural history of Egypt, socio-cultural aspects of Palestinian society and issues concerning gender, women and society in the Middle East. She has published a number of articles in scholarly journals on the concept of women's honor, female Palestinian suicide bombers, and Palestinian women's autobiographies. Her work in the Dayan Center will focus on youngsters, students and universities in both Arab and Muslim societies and in Europe, as well as on Egyptian politics, society and culture.



ISRAELI COBWEBS IN LEBANON



May 12, *Haaretz* journalists **Amos Harel** and **Avi Issacharoff** launched their new book, *Cobwebs*, at an evening sponsored by the Dayan Center and the publisher, Yediot Aharonot. The book, published in English as *34 Days: Israel, Hezbollah and the War in Lebanon*, is the story of Israel's second Lebanese war in the summer of 2006. Harel and Issacharoff discussed some of their conclusions, based on interviews with more than 200 people who were involved in the war.

Harel claimed that the IDF still hasn't fully recovered from the traumatic aftermath of the war and described in detail how, for six years, the Israeli military had neglected to train its troops, and that the government did not fulfill its responsibility to supervise the army's preparations for a possible war. Issacharoff argued that Hezbollah was now gaining control of the political arena in Lebanon, after its success in preventing an Israeli victory two years ago. Harel was clear: Hezbollah was not an independent entity, but rather an organization that was heavily influenced – if not entirely controlled – by Iran.



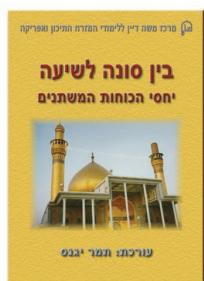
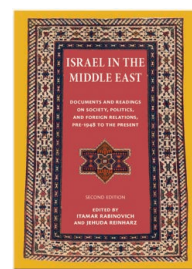
Prof. Eyal Zisser (left), Amos Harel and Avi Issacharoff



New Publications

Israel and the Middle East: Key Documents at Your Fingertips

Brandeis University Press and the University Press of New England have published the second revised and expanded edition of ***Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present***, edited by Dayan Center Senior Fellow and immediate past-President of TAU, Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich** and Brandeis University President Prof. **Jehudah Reinharz**. This timely anthology, completely revised and updated from the original edition in 1984, provides convenient access to the most significant documents of the Zionist movement since 1882 and of Israel's domestic policies and foreign policies between 1948 and 2006.



Sunnis and Shiites: A Reversal of History

The Dayan Center has published an assessment of the recent changes in the relations between Sunnis and Shiites. Entitled ***Sunna and Shi'a: The Changing Balance of Power*** (in Hebrew), this study covers a wide breadth of subjects, from ideological issues to geopolitics. Contributors are some of the top authorities in the field. The book is edited by Dayan Center Researcher **Tamar Yegnes**.



Presentations to Moshe Dayan Center symposia and Center publications are covered in other sections and in earlier issues of the Bulletin. Many of the journal articles noted here are available on the Center's website at dayan.tau.ac.il (check under the individual researcher). Short pieces written for newspapers, **Tel Aviv Notes**, and other outlets are not listed here; check the Center website (click "Commentary") for ready access to many of these contributions.

Ofra Bengio spoke in October 2007 on "Iraq: Between Fitna and Civil War" at a BESA conference on violence in the world of Islam. In December 2007 she analyzed Turkish-Kurdish relations at an Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya conference on Turkey's place in the West. Bengio tackled the topic of "Miracles or Interests: What keeps Turkish-Israeli Relations Going?" at a conference on Turkey and the Middle East held at Sabanci University in Istanbul in May 2008. Also in May, she lectured on "After the 2003 Gulf War: What New Middle East?" at a conference on "Changing Dynamics and Regional Instabilities in the Middle East and North Africa," held at Cyprus International University. She reviewed Eric Davis, *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*; Lawrence G. Potter and Gary Sick (eds.), *Iran, Iraq, and the Legacies of War*; and Reeva Spector Simon and Eleanor H. Tejirian (eds.), *The Creation of Iraq 1914-1921*, in the January 2007 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*. Her essay "The Others: Leopold Weiss and Nissim Sosa" was published in the Spring-Summer issue of *Peamim*. Another essay, "The New Iraq: Towards Disintegration or Confederation?," appeared in *The Future of the Middle East, Debates on National Security*, January 2008, published by BESA. *Ruah Mizrahit* published her essay on the Turkish poet Orhan Veli Kanik and a translation of two of his poems.



Samir Ben-Layashi delivered a paper entitled "Moroccan History and Postcolonial Theory" at the annual conference of the Israeli Oriental Society held at Tel Aviv University in May 2007, and another on "Secularism in the Moroccan Amazigh Discourse" at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America held in Montreal in November 2007. He published "Secularism in the Moroccan Amazigh Discourse" in the June 2007 issue of the *Journal of North African Studies*, and "Morocco's 2007 Elections: A Social Reading," in *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (December 2007). Ben-Layashi reviewed Marc Lynch's *Voices of the New Arab Public*, in *The European Legacy* (Vol. 12, 2007).



Joseph Kostiner participated in an International Workshop on Commerce in the Mediterranean, which was organized by Haifa University's Center for Iranian and Gulf Studies on June 5-6, 2008. He delivered a paper jointly with Eran Segal (of Haifa University) on the development of commerce and the evolution of the pre-oil economy in the Gulf. He spoke on the Gulf Cooperation Council's collective security efforts at a workshop on "International Relations in the Gulf," in Doha, Qatar, organized by Georgetown University's Center for International and Regional Studies, on June 17-18. In July he lectured on Saudi Arabia's regional coordination efforts in a workshop on "Recent Developments In the Israeli-Palestinian Arena" held at the FernUniversität in Hagen, Germany. His *The Marginal Peace: The Policies of the Gulf States towards the Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process and Israel* (Hebrew) was published by the Tami Steimetz Center in August.



Meir Litvak co-edited (with Ora Limor) *Religious Fanaticism* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 2007, in Hebrew), and also wrote the chapter "Slavery [to God] is Freedom: Islamist Perceptions on Liberty." He

gave a lecture on “Holocaust Denial in Iran and the Arab World” at a Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism conference on “Understanding the Challenge of Iran” in April 2008. In June he lectured on “Continuity and Change in Iranian anti-Semitism” at the Tel Aviv University Center for Iranian Studies’ colloquium on the Jews of Iran.



Bruce Maddy-Weitzman delivered a paper entitled “Rival Challenges to the Algerian Pouvoir and Moroccan Makhzen: Berberism vs. Islamism” at an international conference sponsored by Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya, in September 2007. He organized a double panel entitled “Tribe, Ethnicity and State: The Multiple Aspects of the Berber World,” sponsored by the American Institute for Maghrib Studies (AIMS), at the Middle East Studies Association annual conference in November in Montreal. As part of the double panel, he delivered a paper entitled “State Strategies and Berber/Amazigh Responses in Morocco and Algeria: Containment and Inclusion vs. Moving The Goal Posts.” Maddy-Weitzman was also chosen to serve as a member of AIM’s Grant Proposals Committee. In March 2008, he spoke on Israeli views of the Middle East at a day-long seminar entitled “Regards croisés France-Israël,” organized by the Foundation pour l’innovation politique, in Paris. On May 8-11, he participated in the Seventh Tswalu Dialogue, entitled “Towards Conflict Resolution Best Practice,” co-sponsored by the Brenthurst Foundation and RUSI, held in South Africa. His presentation there was entitled “Why Does the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Seem Impervious to a Solution?”



Amos Nadan delivered several lectures during the year on economic relations between Israel and the Palestinians, including a paper on “The Fallacy of Growth in the Palestinian Rural Economy, 1920s-1930s,” at King’s College, London. His “Failing to Aid: British Administrators and the Palestinian Peasants,” was published in Zach Levy and Elie Podeh (eds.), *Britain and the Middle East: From Imperial Power to Junior Partner* (Sussex Academic Press, 2007).



Elie Rekhess lectured on Israel at the London symposium on “The Opportunities and Challenges Facing Israel as a Vibrant Democracy,” held by the Pears Foundation in March 2007. In May he discussed “Approaches to Arab-Israeli Relations” at a Northwestern University conference on the “University and the Near East in the Twenty-First Century.” Rekhess spoke on “The Israeli Arabs – An Overview” in a conference on the Arab Minority in Israel, convened in New York by the Israel Democracy Institute in January 2008. His article, “The Evolvement of an Arab-Palestinian National Minority in Israel,” was published in the Fall 2007 issue of *Israel Studies*, and his study, “The Palestinian Political leadership in East Jerusalem after 1967,” was published in Tamar Mayer and Suleiman A. Mourad (eds.), *Jerusalem: Idea and Reality* (Routledge, 2008). Rekhess wrote a chapter on “The Arab Minority in Israel and the Seventeenth Knesset Elections: The Beginning of a New Era?,” in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (eds.), *The 2006 Knesset Elections*, published in 2000 by the Israel Democracy Institute. He also updated his entry “Israel” for the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam*.



Paul Rivlin spent the spring of 2008 as Visiting Professor of Economics and Jewish Studies at Emory University, in Atlanta, where he gave courses on the Israeli economy, the international oil market, and the political economy of the Middle East. In November 2007 he participated in the Seventh Anglo-Israel Colloquium at Kfar Blum on the subject of “Wealth and Happiness in Israel and the United Kingdom.” In

February 2008 he gave the Robinson Lectures at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The first lecture was on problems in the Israeli economy and the second on implications of high oil prices. In June he lectured at the Canada-Israel Committee in Vancouver on Israel's economic transformation and at the Emory University Institute for the Study of Modern Israel's annual teacher's workshop in Atlanta. His chapter on "The Constraints on Economic Development in Morocco and Tunisia" was published in Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Daniel Zisenwine (eds.), *The Maghrib in the New Century: Identity, Religion, and Politics* (University of Florida Press, 2007). The Middle East Institute published his paper "The Israeli Economy at Sixty" in *Viewpoints*, as part of a special spring edition on Israel at sixty. The Brenthurst Foundation published his paper "Israel and Jordan: Lessons from their Development, 1950-2006" in *Globalisation and Economic Success: Policy Options for Africa* (2007).



Yehudit Ronen discussed "Jewish-Muslim Co-existence: Reflections in the Mirror of Literature," at a conference on Jews and Muslims in the world of Islam held at the University of Maryland in August 2007, and presented a paper on "Sudan in the Flames of War: Between Darfur and the South," at a conference on violence in Islam convened by BESA at Bar Ilan University in October. She spoke on "The Darfur War: Political and Military Perspectives," at a conference on "The Crisis in Darfur from an African, Israeli and Global Viewpoint," held in November at Tel Aviv University. Ronen published "The Islamic Immigration-Terrorism Nexus: Europe's Radical Imports," in Peter Nitschke (ed.), *Global Terrorism and Europe: Perspectives to the Internationalization of Terror* (Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, April 2008), and "A Libyan-Italian Encounter: The Changing Mosaic of Mediterranean Migration," in the 2008 issue of *The Maghreb Review*. Her article, "The Sudanese-Egyptian-Libyan Triangle in the Shadow of Radical Islam," was published in the 2008 issue of *HaMizrah HeHadash*. In the February 2008 issue of *Iton 77* Ronen reviewed Layla Maruwani's *The Girl and the Mother*; Assia Djebar's *Strasbourg Nights*; and Mohsin Hamid's *Reluctant Fundamentalist*. She also reviewed Haggai Erlich and Israel Gershoni, *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, in the 2008 issue of *HaMizrah HeHadash*.



Asher Susser spent the 2007-2008 academic year on sabbatical as Senior Fellow of the Myra and Robert Kraft Chair in Arab Politics at the Crown Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Brandeis University. In mid-October 2007 he lectured in Montreal at Concordia University where he spoke on "The Palestinians and the 'New' Middle East," and at McGill University where he discussed "Secular Nationalism in the Middle East: Is It on the Way Out?". Later that month Susser took part in a Crown Center conference on "The Middle East Today: New Perspectives on a Changing Landscape," where he spoke on the regional ramifications of the Iraq war. He also participated in a conference at Brandeis University in December, held jointly by The Crown and Schusterman Centers, on "One Land for Two Peoples, where he spoke on "Partition and the Jewish-Arab Dimension inside Israel." Later that month he addressed the World Affairs Council of Northern California in San Francisco on the Middle East peace process, and Stanford University's Forum on Contemporary Europe on "The Middle East Peace Process: The Roles of the US and Europe." In February 2008 Susser briefed members of the House of Commons in London on the Middle East, and in March he gave a talk at the Crown Center's Brown Bag Forum on the decline of secular nationalism in the Middle East. In April he spoke at the Middle East Seminar of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University on "Israel as the State of the Jewish People and its Arab Minority." He took part in a May conference on "Israel at Sixty" at the Crown Family Center for Jewish Studies at Northwestern University where he delivered a lecture on "Israel and the Middle East." Towards the end of the month he attended a conference on "Islamism, the State, and the Quest for Community," convened by the Center for Middle

Eastern Studies of Lund University in Sweden, where he spoke on “Religion, Community and the State: The Future is in the Past.” Later in May, Susser lectured in Oslo at the Norwegian Defense Command and Staff College on “The Middle East and the Changing Geopolitical Environment,” at the University of Oslo in the Department of Political Science on “Secular Nationalism in the Middle East: On the Way Out?,” and at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) on “Israel, the Palestinians and the ‘New’ Middle East.” He also briefed the Middle East Section of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Norwegian Parliament. In early June, Susser spoke on “The Holocaust, the Mufti, and the Jewish Past: Competing Narratives and Arab-Israel Peacemaking,” at the University of Maine, Augusta. He published a paper on “Jordan: Preserving Domestic Order in a Setting of Regional Turmoil,” in the Crown Center’s *Middle East Brief* series and wrote a review of Avi Shlaim’s *Lion of Jordan: The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace* and Joseph Nevo’s *King Hussein and the Evolution of Jordan’s Perception of a Political Settlement with Israel* for the September 2008 issue of *Middle Eastern Studies*.



Joshua Teitelbaum spent the spring of 2008 as Rosenbloom Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science at Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, an appointment he held jointly with Stanford’s Hoover Institution, where he was W. Glenn Campbell and Rita Ricardo-Campbell National Fellow. While at Stanford he taught two courses on Israel and the modern Middle East in the International Relations Program. In October 2007 he spoke on modern Saudi Arabia at the faculty seminar of the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya’s Lauder School of Government, and that same month he participated in a closed briefing of the Institute of National Security Studies on Saudi Arabia, as well as speaking at the annual Yitzhak Rabin memorial held at the Meitarim School, Ra’anana. For much of the fall he was a guest lecturer at Jerusalem’s Midreshet Lindenbaum, where he taught a course on intellectual trend on US campuses to pre-collegiate American students. In January 2008 he discussed the Shiites of Saudi Arabia at a special session of the Herzliya Conference. In May he lectured on political liberalization in the Persian Gulf at the University of Washington’s Jackson School of International Studies. He also spoke widely on the modern Middle East at venues in the San Francisco Bay Area, including two lectures at the San Francisco Jewish Community Center’s Israel Independence Day celebration. In June, Teitelbaum spoke twice on Saudi Arabia to AIPAC’s Annual Policy Conference in Washington, DC. With Teitelbaum’s mediation, Georgetown University Library’s Special Collections located and acquired the papers of Dr. George Rentz, former head of research for Aramco, where they joined other papers related to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf. In July, Teitelbaum conducted interviews in his capacity as the Israeli adviser to the Olive Tree Programme, which supports promising Israeli and Palestinians students studying at the City University of London. In June, the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs published his study, *What Iranian Leaders Really Say about Israel: A Refutation of the Campaign to Excuse Ahmadinejad’s Incitement to Genocide*.



Esther Webman became acting director of the Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism in August 2007 and joined the editorial board of *Moreshet – Journal for the Study of the Holocaust and Antisemitism*. Also in August, she delivered a paper on the “Image of the Jew in the Arab World” at a University of Maryland conference on “Jews and Muslims in the World of Islam.” She gave a paper in September on “The Impact of the Arab-Israeli Conflict on Antisemitic Manifestations and Attitudes to the Holocaust among Muslims in Europe” at the Eight Conference of the European Sociological Society, held in Glasgow. In February 2008 she took part in the Global Forum for Combating Antisemitism organized by the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem.

Michael Winter chaired the panel on Mamluk History and Historiography, and gave a paper, "Egyptian-Ethiopian Relations according to Mamluk Sources," at the annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) in Montreal in November 2007. He was appointed Visiting Scholar for 2008 at the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, where he continued his research project on *qadis* in Damascus under the Mamluks and the Ottomans. While at Harvard he lectured on his research at the Ottoman graduate seminar. Winter published "The Closest Egyptian-Ethiopian Relationship: the Mamluk Sultanate," in Israel Gershoni and Meir Hatina (eds.), *Narrating the Nile: Politics, Cultures, Identities* (LRP, 2008); "Ulama between State and Society in Pre-Modern Sunni Islam," in Meir Hatina (ed.), *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: Ulama in the Middle East* (Brill, 2008); and "The Ottoman Legal Profession" in *Oxford International Encyclopedia of Legal History* (Oxford University Press, 2008).



Daniel Zisenwine published "Mauritania's Democratic Transition: A Regional Model for Political Reform?," in the December 2007 issue of the *Journal of North African Studies*. In September 2007 he spoke on "Duality or Competing Ideologies: Moroccan Nationalism and Islam," at the Institute of Counter-Terrorism's annual conference, held at the Interdisciplinary Institute Herzliya. In November he delivered a paper on "From Reform Calls to Demands for Independence: Moroccan Nationalist Politics during World War II," at the annual MESA meeting in Montreal. Zisenwine also spoke on North Africa's Berber population at an international video conference held jointly by the Global Research in International Affairs Center and the Public Affairs Office, US Embassy, Tel Aviv, in January 2008. In April he lectured on "Disinterested Sympathizers: Moroccan Nationalists and Moroccan Jews during World War II," at an international conference on North African Jewry during the Second World War convened by Yad Vashem and Yad Ben Zvi in Jerusalem.



Eyal Zisser delivered a paper on "Israel and the Arab World: One Year after the Lebanon War" at the annual conference of MESA held in Montreal in November 2007. In September 2008 he spoke on "The Hezbollah-Israel War of 2006: Consequences for Lebanon," at the 25th Year Anniversary Conference of the Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies at the University of Southern Denmark in Odense. Zisser's article "The Syrian Phoenix – The Revival of the Syrian Social National Party in Syria" was published in *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2007). He published "Lebanon and the Cedar Revolution: Between Continuity and Change" in *Orient*, Vol. 47 (2008), and published "Where Bashar al-Asad is Heading," in the Winter 2008 issue of *Middle East Quarterly*. "An Israeli Watershed: Strike on Syria," was published in the Summer 2008 issue of *Middle East Quarterly*. His "Britain and the Levant, 1918-1946: A Missed Opportunity," appeared in Zach Levey and Elie Podeh (eds.), *Britain and the Middle East, From Imperial Power to Junior Partner* (Sussex Academic Press, 2007), while his study "Bashar al-Asad: In or Out of the New World Order," appeared in Alexander T. J. Lennon (ed.), *The Epicenter of Crisis: The New Middle East* (Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2007).



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